1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

The ordinary houses are mere mud hovels, which give the place an appearance similar to that of an Arab village. Every domestic operation is carried on in public, and the whole family may be seen sleeping on the low flat roofs in full view of neighbours or passers-by.

Kūrdistan is for the most part a barren country, cultivated fields and gardens being found only in the proximity of towns and large villages. With the clansmen pasturage is the only resource, and in summer they wander from highland to highland seeking pasturage and water for their large flocks of sheep. A tribe on the march is a picturesque sight. The baggage is carried on the backs of bullocks, which sometimes carry in addition two or three children and the cradle, if the mother has not strapped this with its inmate to her own back. Striding along with the other women may be seen several Amazonian figures, who seem to be in charge of the party, and much more responsible for its safety than the men, who saunter along carrying only their arms, a heavy mace hanging from their girdles, and a sword and buckler at their backs. Beyond guarding the flocks, the men take no part in the work connected with them, all of which devolves on the women.

Kūrds seldom eat the flesh of their flocks, which they consider too valuable for consumption, but content themselves for the most part with the dairy produce, milk, cheese, and butter, curds and *yaourt*, with thin cakes baked in the *tandour*, and a kind of pilaf made from wheat instead of rice. Butter is made in a very primitive fashion. A large sheepskin

characteristic of it was its extreme decentralization. The Kurdish tenant or tribesman has now suddenly discovered himself to be a citizen, and the Kurdish chieftain to be without his former economic or political power. A new class, that of officials and officers, has been introduced with an unfamiliar system of society, and the result has not been without conflict. The fact that the reaction has been linked with European nationalism makes it the more interesting. The second object of this study is the delineation of this collision, and a consideration of the alterations in Kurdish life since Ottoman times. The recognition that nationalism, commonly considered in the Middle East as a European ideology in new dress, may be paired in some instances with economic and social upheavals of a different order is a matter of great importance in the analysis of the area.

The Kurdish population of Iraq has been estimated at about 400,000, although figures vary considerably, and occupies the mountainous areas north of Mosul, northeast of Erbil, and east of Kirkuk. In many instances their villages have spilled out on the flat expanses of Upper Mesopotamia. A small portion of this populace is nomadic, wintering their flocks in the same plains area, and seeking the pastures of the uplands in the summer. Kurdish Iraq provides a striking contrast to the sun-baked flats and deserts of the central and southern provinces. The terrain is rugged, with peaks reaching 8000 feet above sea level, and is characterized by precipitous heights, deep gorges,

and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift perennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year, and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most verdant areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the watercourses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak, may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Save at the highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent than in the plains to the south. With the winter season of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, however, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the mountains fifty miles northeast of Erbil. In older days Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and Iran, but the recent construction of an automobile highway by the British has removed it from the main stream of what remains of this traffic.[1] The exact antiquity of the town is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the headquarters of Kor Pasha, a chieftain who gained temporary

[1]Recounted in Hamilton, 1937.

the merchants of the town, and gardens. The Turkish serai and the main body of the town were to be found in the valley, close to the river. The bluff commands a magnificent view of the surrounding countryside, the peak of Sari Hasan Beg rising 8405 feet above sea level to the northeast, that of Handrin Dagh 8600 feet to the southeast, and the cliffs of Kurrek Dagh to 7500 feet to the west. During the first World War, however, a Russian army entered the valley and destroyed the town, slaughtering those inhabitants who remained behind, as well as the Turkish wounded who had been sheltered in a mosque. Most of the populace fled to Erbil, and only several hundred families of the original population returned after the end of the war. 361 [133] [727]

The town was gradually rebuilt during the decade which followed the first World War, not in the valley, but on the bluff formerly called Qala Tiluk which is a formidable defensive position against infantry, for the gorges of the Rowanduz and Handrin rivers protect it on three sides. This is the new Rowanduz, and the site of the older is occupied only by an army barracks constructed by the British and a small aggregation of buildings known as Kawlokan. A description of the new town will be found in the study to follow. Rowanduz is joined to the modern automobile highway by a road which follows the Rowanduz river east to a point named Jindian where a steel bridge crosses the high rocky banks of the river. The town is on the old caravan [491] [487]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

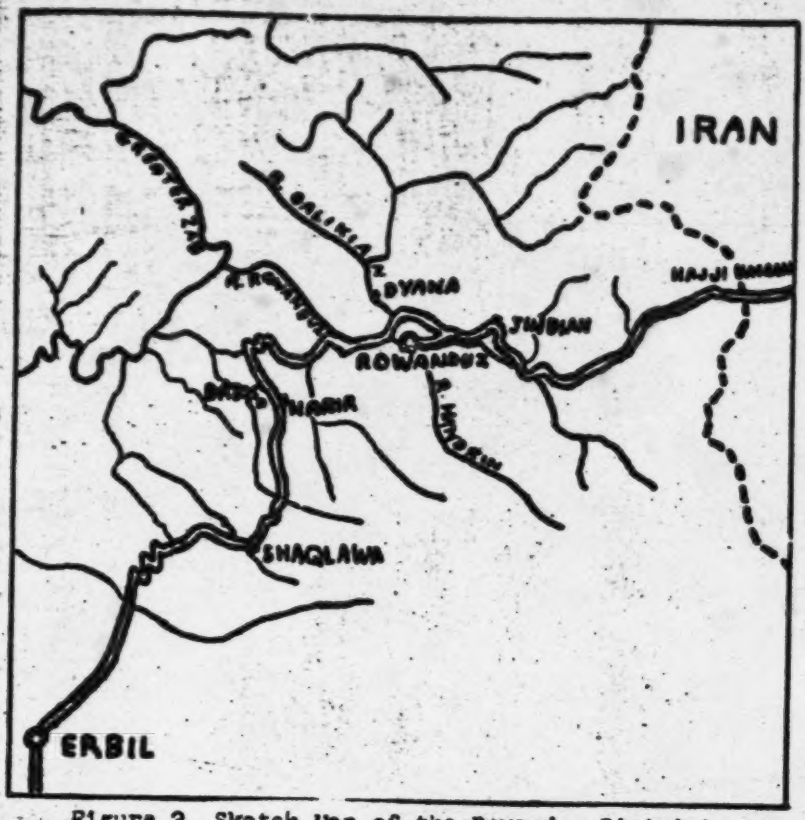

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Figure 2. Sketch Map of the Rowanduz District

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

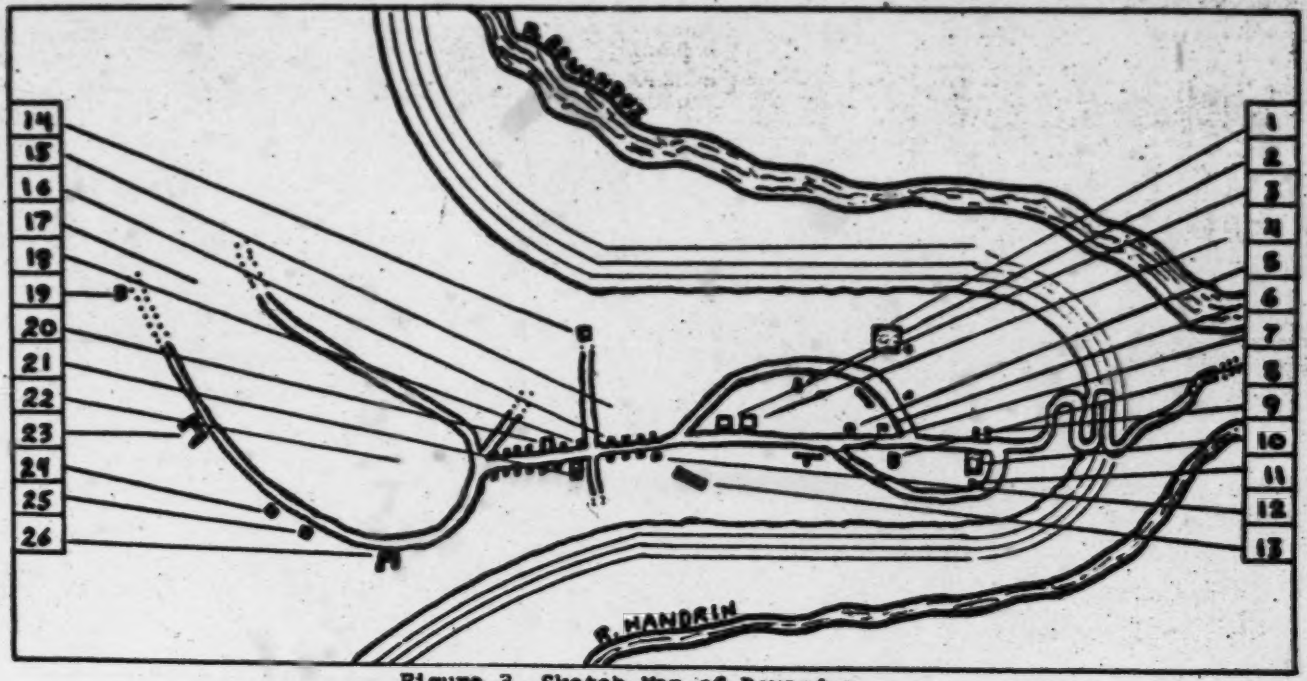

Figure 3. Sketch Map of Rowanduz
1. Isma'il Beg. 2. Court House. 3. Police Post. 4. Tobacco Monopoly. 5. Girl's School. 6. House of Qaimmaqam. 7. Sayyid Heusni. 8. Primary School. 9. Veterinarian. 10. Serai. 11. Communications Office. 12. Sadiq Agha. 13. Hospital. 14. Ra'uf Effendi. 15. Lower Residential Area. 16. Bazar. 17. Cemetery. 18. Garage. 19. Ashi Shaykhi. 20. Garage. 21. Great Mosque. 22. Upper Residential Area. 23. Shakir Effendi. 24. Nuri Bawil Agha. 25. Women's Mosque. 26. Club.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCANTILE CENTER

The mountainous character of the Rowanduz region, its many peaks and gorges, acts to limit the amount of arable land. It would be difficult to estimate the actual extent of the land which might be brought under cultivation, but it could only be a smaller part of the entire area. Wide, level stretches of land are to be found, such as the plains about Batas or Dyana, but many other holdings are no more than strips cut into hillsides or cliffs. On the other hand, in the absence of mineral exploitation or industry, a high percentage, perhaps 80%, of the population is directly engaged in agriculture or animal husbandry, and the productive wealth of the district is almost wholly derived from these two pursuits.

Game is not abundant, and hunting and fishing cannot be said to add any important supplement to the food supply. In the town of Rowanduz itself there are four professional fishermen and a hunter, but their activities are seasonal, and they have additional employment. Ibex, the long-horned mountain goat, is hunted chiefly for sport, and strong-smelling skins and horns are exhibited as trophies by local huntsmen. In accordance with Quranic prescription, if such game is to be eaten, it must be bled while still "alive," after having been brought down with a rifle. The local

CHAPTER IV

HOUSE, DRESS, AND DIET

The town of Rowandus, aside from its government 361
buildings and bazar, contains some 800 houses. The four mosques, and the club, the only remaining specialized constructions, will be discussed in later sections, and the house itself, with other material features of daily life, such as diet and clothing, may be treated here. The town has three general divisions, the first largely unoccupied, the second containing both shops and dwellings, and the third almost wholly residential. It would be incorrect to say that building has been completely without reference to any overall plan, for, although there has certainly been no conscious attempt to build according to any preconceived design, Rowanduz, with its specialized [366]
bazar surrounding the principal mosque and its lanes of houses, some of them cut at right angles to the main thoroughfare, follows certain very generalized notions of the constitution of towns elsewhere. Any construction, [133]
however, has been greatly conditioned by the land, because beneath the scanty topsoil there are hard, irregular crags of rock, and both houses and streets have out of necessity adapted themselves to their contours. There has been little attempt, particularly in the absence of any but the most burdensome means, to level or to build up the

Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Balkha and Tawella, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used; hired cars, primitive local buses, mules and horses. If no private homes were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hotels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every forthnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshâra, I lived all the time I was in the country (5th May–5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connexion with the forwarding of my collection. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Topzawa-Rakawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an elder brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.

Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

Fig. 4. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern sub-tropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

13 The village scene

Fig. 1. View from to town of the mountains of Kamilaun.

The settlements and their

311 conditions

311 conditions the siting of the villages. Some steep hills—shown in a view of Tiqueera suggest the founder
294 ter of granite. Watercourses and springs are decisive in their location for the finding of water and
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
[412] these canals mattocks (S. 234) and iron ploughs, are used. The latter are worked by two men. The
[8] light plough was seen to use drawn by the Lower Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages
[139] of Tiqueera and Kalawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill plots have
245 scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for
wine and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sergalu, Bekhta and Tawella, which have simple
231 ruins, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are cows
and oxen, gt. fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, Pigs, donkeys, fds. and mules, fowls, with
ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, asp, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a cork [illegible]. There are also
big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds. At 5 a.m. the oxen
233 are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6-7 p.m. the animals are driven back

Fig. 43. Threshing by means of wooden sticks round the fully-loaded corn. Tigrinya.

wooden forks grab the corn under the animal so it is gradually rotated until out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *jegjeg*, which can be called a threshing sledge[1], threshing cart[2] or threshing 243
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 403
of two kidney-shaped side planes joined above by a cross axle. Between the side planes, which are
studded with big bone nails giving the appearance of superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh,
two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of assorted, bar-shaped iron blades
whose edges are at right angles to each other[3]. These blades are so placed that the machine runs
alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at
right angles to them. By its pressure and the effects of the beam harnessed to it, the threshing machine
serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven
round alone on the corn heap, but the manoeuvre from blades at the same time cut up the straw into
chaff.

According to Eby[4] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [illegible]

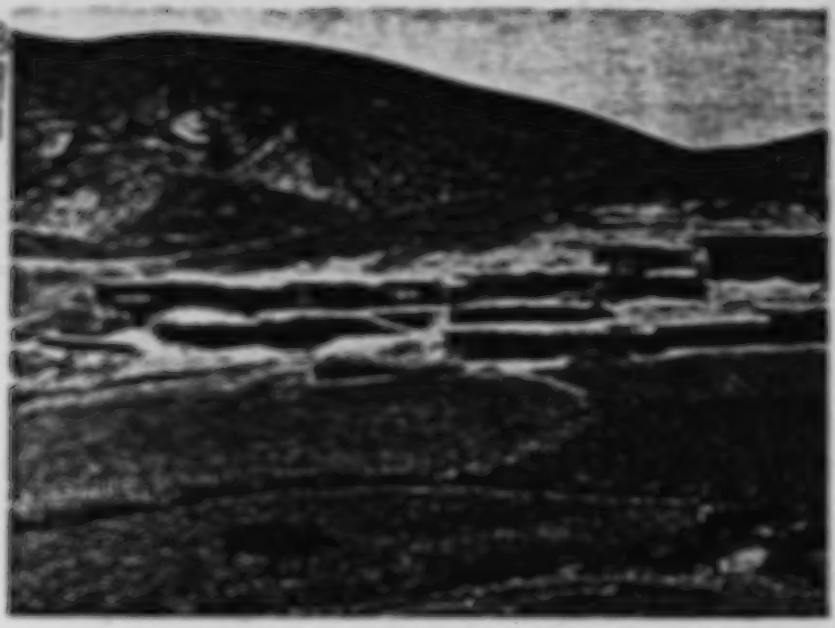

Fig. 43. The entrance hall to ploughland with cows, Tuguseva.

So far as I could discover the [illegible] is not homosexual. Polyandrous [illegible] cannot be ruled out

[illegible] is a pyramid by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the city in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is women's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2345).

Women's world, like men's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an [illegible] or equivalent. He had no need to live in the village, for he could, for example, have resided in Sukhumi on the Southern plain[illegible]. Ordinarily the owner of a village would be a woman managing the property for a son who had not reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adile's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sukhumi. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had to the village, according to Lomiri[illegible], a manager "bubisi", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Tuguseva, Kalvena, Bargula and Sachan the shekhis were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

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Fig. 21. Sheikh Taiba's property. Tegawan.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[55]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Barton, Edmonds and Leach[56]. There was direct access to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa. At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns of hacked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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361
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[55A]
[114]

[Text continues Top of P 32--Analyst]

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but contains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole. Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essentially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the progressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom perhaps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is breaking down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west, each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is traversed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Turkey, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high road through Kifri and Kirkuk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul directly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish districts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads as beasts of burden.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Kurdish territory was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Salim I., but retained considerable local autonomy, leading to adjustment rather than replacement of traditional Kurdish organization.

The area generally called Southern Kurdistan, where the present material was collected, may be delimited on ethnic and geographical grounds (cf. Map. No. 2). It is bounded on the north by the Lesser Zab, on the south by the Diyala river. To the east it stretches up into the Zagros mountains to the Persian frontier. A western border can only be drawn on ethnic, and rather arbitrary criteria, since Kurdish territory extends in part beyond the foothill area, into a a zone where Kurd and Arab villagers and villages mingle.

Physiographically, the area is characterized by a series of ridges running NW—SE, building up towards the Persian mountains. The drainage pattern is rather complex, partly leading to the Lesser Zab, partly to the Diyala, and some smaller rivers dissipating in the dry areas south and west of the city of Kirkuk.

In the lowlands, the «Garmian» (hotlands) of the Kurds, conditions approach semi-desert, and agriculture becomes increasingly difficult. Kurdish territory stretches in places to the edge of what has been called the rainfall zone (Warriner, 1948, p. 100), but generally falls somewhat short of this, leaving the remaining area to Arab agriculturalists with an identical economy.

Though predominantly Kurdish, the area shows some ethnic diversity. There is contact with permanent Arab settlements in a rather broad zone of mixture. Bedouin herdsmen in the summer graze their camels as far as the Chemchemal valley, and have at times remained in the area continuously for several years. The city of Kirkuk has a considerable Turkish-speaking population, and Turkish-speaking villages may still be found in a wide stretch of the lower districs. Some 100 years ago, Turkoman nomads occupied some of these areas (Rich, 1836). The town of Suleimani had till 1951 a considerable Jewish population, as well as the still persisting small Chaldaean Christian minority.

The Kurds themselves exhibit considerable diversity, ranging from tribally organized nomadic herdsmen to feudal peasants. The Garmian lowlands are mainly peopled by detribalized tenant farmers.

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

of modern methods of agriculture. The villages as will be seen from Map 2 are situated mostly in the valleys. East of Dergala village practically the whole area is snow bound throughout the winter. Before the war, though the area was nominally under Turkish domination, the local Kurdish leaders maintained practical independence. After the war the area came within the area of the Iraq mandate. The policy adopted by the British administration and the immediate political consequences are described by Hay. Crudely summarised it may be said that after some initial mistakes in which the government unfortunately "backed the wrong man" the administration eventually achieved a relative tranquility by paying all the important leaders a substantial salary provided they behaved themselves. The economic consequences of this will be referred to later. Following the abandonment of the mandate, or perhaps earlier, it was decided by the Baghdad authorities to adopt a more positive policy of "pacification". "A strategic road was built through the mountains from Erbil to Rowanduz and continued on to the Persian border; a large military barracks was established at Rowanduz with subsidiary police posts at Rayat and Gelala. The economic and political consequences of the building of this road have been very great and will be discussed in greater detail later.

To sum up then, the distinguishing characteristics of area A[1] are the poverty of the soil resources; the severity of the winter; the extreme difficulty, until very recently, of any intercommunication between the various valleys; and the fact that such "tribal disintegration" as is now found is all of fairly recent origin dating for the most part from the construction of the road and the establishment of permanent police authority in the Rayat valley.

B. Foothill Area. This area corresponding approximately to the administrative district of Shaqlawa is separated from area A by an almost impassable range of mountains. On the South side on the other hand it merges quite gradually into the plains area C. Geographical considerations therefore are mainly responsible for the fact that the inhabitants of area B, though presumably of identical cultural origins to those of area A, have for many years been in much closer contact with the Arab world and western "sophisticated" influences generally. At the present time the tribes of this area no longer function as political entities, and the whole region is in a very real sense "directly administered" by the police. Hay's account (1920) makes it appear that conditions were very similar even in his time though the process of disintegration has doubtless been intensified in the interval. The potential economic resources of the district are probably much greater than for area A both on account of the milder climate and the greater area of cultivable land.

* An account of the construction of this road is given by A.M.Hamilton - Road through Kurdistan.

[1] [Rowanduz -- Analyst]